

The Revival of Cornish: An Dasserghyans Kernewek

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THE REVIVAL OF CORNISH: AN DASSERGHYANS KERNEWEK

A MONG the Celtic tongues Cornish occupies a unique place. It is not a wholly dead language like Gaulish and Galatian, and neither is it an actively living one like Welsh and Breton, Irish and Scots Gaelic. Even Manx, few as the speakers of it may be, has maintained a living tradition. But Cornish was practically dead when the revival began in 1904, and it was well on its way to becoming a living language again when the second world war broke out. Whether this revival can survive amid the dislocation of total war remains to be seen.

Up to the time of the Reformation a good deal of Cornish was spoken and many Cornishmen could not speak English. But the policy of the Tudors was to force the use of English upon all of their subjects, and without the help of the Church the Cornish were not able to resist the pressure. The Welsh secured both the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer in their own tongue and saved it; the Cornish had neither, and their clergy taught them the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, which came to replace the native speech. The linguistic boundaries were pushed further and further back, until by 1800 the language was almost forgotten. It is popularly said that Mrs. Dolly Pentraeth, who died in 1777 at an advanced age, was the last person to speak Cornish. She knew no other language until she was past twenty years of age, and all her life she used this by preference. But long after she died there were still people who knew some Cornish. As late as 1875 Henry Jenner, Fred W. P. Jago, and the Rev. W. S. Lach Szyrma were taught a number of words and sentences by people who had learned them in their youth, so, as Jenner said, as long as any of the three was alive a faint flicker of living Cornish remained. He did not die until 1934, when the revival had been under way for thirty years; so, by the same token. Cornish has never been completely dead. "Hal Wyn," to whom I shall return later, claims that he too knew Cornish as a living language. Finally it must be remembered that many of the old words were familiar from their use in place names (Jenner estimates that nine-tenths of those west of the Tamar are Celtic), and that something of the rhythm and intonation of the old speech still lingered on in the dialect of English spoken in Cornwall.

But during the nineteenth century Cornish was looked upon as a dead language and the interest in it was purely antiquarian. Davis

¹ Henry Jenner, A Handbook of the Cornish Language chiefly in its latest stages with some account of its history and literature (London: David Nutt, 1904), p. 22.

Gilbert edited The Passion of our Lord in 1826 and The Creation of the World in 1827, each with a translation by John Keigwin, In 1859 Edwin Norris published his Ancient Cornish Drama, an edition and translation of the Ordinalia plays, with which he included a Sketch of Cornish Grammar, a Cornish Vocabulary, and a Sketch of the Literature. Whitley Stokes re-edited the Passion poem in 1860 and The Creation of the World in 1864, and edited The Life of Meriasek in 1872. In 1865 Robert Williams published his Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum which, besides the English translations of the words, and illustrations of their use, gave their cognates in the other Celtic dialects. Stokes in his Cornish Glossary (1868) added about two thousand more words, and Fred W. P. Tago published his English-Cornish Dictionary in 1887.2 Stokes, Jenner, and Joseph Loth published a number of articles on Cornish subjects in the Revue Celtique and other periodicals. Practically all the extant remains had now been printed, and the tools for using them provided. Henry Lewis published a Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol in 1923, but this too treated Cornish as a dead language.

What it is now the fashion to call "An Dasserghyans Kernewek" began with the twentieth century. It is true that a German linguist, Sauerwein, had written two poetical epistles in Cornish to his friend Edwin Norris in 1859 and 1861,³ and Henry Jenner had tried his hand at Cornish poetry as early as 1884.⁴ These poems were in rather good Cornish, but they were not published and they had no successors. In 1901 and 1902 a number of poems in modern Cornish by Jenner, L. C. R. Duncombe-Jewell, and the Breton poet C. A. Picquenard ("Ar Barz Melen") were published in the magazine Celtia and in the Cornish Telegraph. In 1903 Jenner delivered a speech in Cornish before the Congress of the Union Régionaliste Bretonne at Lesneven at Finistère,⁵ and he reports that so much alike were the two languages that he was fairly well understood. In the following year he was successful in inducing the Pan-Celtic Congress to recognize Cornwall as one of the family of Celtic nations.

Jenner had been asked by the secretary of the Celtic Cornish Society to undertake a Cornish grammar, and this appeared in 1904 as A Handbook of the Cornish Language. It was, as the preface says, "principally intended for those persons of Cornish nationality who wish to acquire some knowledge of their ancient tongue, and to read, write, and perhaps even speak it." The author raises the question as to why Cornishmen should learn Cornish, and he answers, "Because they are Cornishmen.

² Not to be confused with his Glossary of the Cornish Dialect (1882) which deals with the English dialect of Cornwall.

⁸ Kernow, 3 (1934), 5-6. ⁴ Ibid., 8 (1935), 3-4. ⁵ Ibid., 5 (1934), 5-6.

... The reason why they should learn this language, the outward and audible sign of [their] separate nationality, is sentimental, and not in the least practical." He adds that it was not without good omen that the book was published by David Nutt "At the Sign of the Phoenix."

Jenner's Handbook is an excellent introduction to Cornish for anyone who knows something about how to study a language. The first part gives a history of the language and a brief account of its literary remains. The second part is an outline of Cornish grammar, with chapters on Prosody and Cornish Names. There is even a chapter (added, I suppose, to popularize Cornish as a spoken language) on Swear Words and Expletives, but the lamentable conclusion is that Cornish profanity is wholly inadequate for modern use. There is one important thing about Jenner's book that may be overlooked. The spelling of the old texts is very irregular, and if the language is to be revived for ordinary use this must be revised. Jenner made an attempt to establish such a norm, and the orthography now in use is based largely upon his.

But although Tenner's Handbook and the printed texts of the dramas give all that a linguistic student needs in order to acquire a good knowledge of Cornish, they are not elementary enough for the person who has had no linguistic training. For the beginner "Hal Wyn" (Ralph St. V. Allin-Collins) published in 1927 a Cornish Grammar with exercises and some short stories in Cornish, and a glossary. He also published, with R. Morton Nance, An Den ha'v Dheu Wreg and Some Short Stories in the Cornish Language (with a brief glossary), and announced that he had many more, as well as an extensive Cornish-English dictionary, awaiting publication. He claims to be among those who still know Cornish as a living language, and apparently his knowledge of it is adequate, but the book is badly arranged, and one must incorporate into it the supplementary pamphlet of "additions and corrections." I can hardly imagine learning much Cornish from it, although with enough determination doubtless one could. In 1929 Nance published his little handbook, Cornish for All, one of the chief merits of which was the establishment of a standard system of orthography. This so-called "union spelling" is a development of Jenner's normalization, and since 1929 has been almost universally adopted.

About this time "Caradar" (A. S. D. Smith), who is the author of what I consider the best elementary text-book for the student of Welsh (Welsh Made Easy), moved to Perranporth in Cornwall and joined the movement. He started a monthly newspaper in Cornish (to which I shall return presently) and he also wrote a series of twenty language lessons which he "published" by mimeographing his longhand manuscript. These lessons seem to me well suited to the beginner, and to them he

added a series of reading pieces of increasing difficulty, the last ones being from the dramas. One of the selections is called "Will the Cornish language revive? (Dasserghy a-wra an Kernewek?)," and another gives an account of the chief features of the revival; a third is an abstract of an article concerning Eliezer Ben Yehudah and his successful attempt to revive the Hebrew language, which had appeared in *The Times* on January 1, 1924.

Caradar has since rewritten these lessons completely and has published in printed form what is practically a new book, Cornish Simplified: Short Lessons for Self-tuition (1939). With a copy of the book he sent me a letter written, as is his practice, twice over—once in Cornish for patriotism and once in English so that the recipient may understand it. I quote from the English version:

The compilation of this little book gave me more trouble than did my Welsh Made Easy. Everything is known about Modern Welsh, whereas we are still uncertain about some features of Cornish, and you will find much in this book that no one has attempted to explain previously. This meant many months of research, and in the end I had amassed so much material that it took another whole year to arrange it in the form of short lessons! I did not dare to call the book 'Cornish Made Easy,' but I do claim to have simplified matters.

Meanwhile Nance and Caradar had prepared for the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies an English-Cornish dictionary of some 12,000 words, which was published in 1934. It adopted the "union spelling." and I think it significant that the English-Cornish section was published before the Cornish-English. It was definitely designed to create a language suitable for use at the present day. Where a word for some common idea has not been recorded in Cornish the compilers made one. going to the cognate Breton and Welsh for the root and changing it in accordance with the phonetic laws of the language. Such a word probably existed in Cornish, but in the dictionary it is starred to distinguish it from the authentic remains of the language. Welsh has a verb mynegi = to declare, Breton has a noun menek = mention; there is nothing forced, therefore, in creating a Cornish menegy to mean express an opinion, and a noun menegans for expression of opinion. Again, Welsh has a noun arwydd meaning sign, and Breton has arouez with much the same meaning; this dictionary gives arweth for sign and arwedhek for significant, each with a star. The compilers have also exhibited considerable ingenuity in creating new words to represent new ideas. A telegram is pellscryven (tele-gram), a telephone pellsona (tele-phone), and a telescope pellweler (tele-scope; television is pellwelok (tele-scope-ism). A locomotive is margh-tan (fire-horse), and a bicycle margh horn (iron horse); the cinema is gwaya-myr (move-show) by analogy with the old gwary-myr (play-show), and the radio is simply dywever (wireless). The only serious lack I have noticed is a word for airplane, and I see no reason why one should not create it in the spirit of the editors—jyn-ebron or sky-machine. I am sure any Cornish speaker would understand that.

In 1938 the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies published Nance's Cornish-English dictionary; on its title-page it bore, as the other dictionary had, the motto "Nynsyu marow Myghtern Arthur (King Arthur is not dead)," and a picture of the chough into which, according to legend, Arthur was transformed. (Kernow says merely that it was "King Arthur's bird," in which the National Spirit is embodied.) This dictionary gives a brief outline of the grammar, and aims to give all the words that have been used in Cornish, including words from English and French that have come into common use; it records also, but marked with an asterisk, the words which have been created in modern times to enrich the language. Words which are recorded only in Old Cornish are marked with an obelus. It is now possible to, read, with comparative ease, any Cornish Text if one knows a little of the grammar.

Another work upon which Nance and Caradar collaborated was a translation of the Gospel of Saint Mark (An Awayl Herwyth Sant Mark) the first book of the Bible to be translated in its entirety. Only short passages and an occasional chapter had been translated in the earlier period, and only a few of the Psalms in recent times. The St. Mark was published in 1936. The same two men edited also, as a supplement to Kernow, the medieval Pascon agan Arluth, with a diplomatic text, a transcription in "union spelling," and a translation into English.

It is from the pages of Kernow that one gets the best idea of the Revival. Published by the mimeograph process (lyesscryfys: manywritten), it began in April 1934 as a monthly (with no issues in August and September), changed to a quarterly in March 1935, and, after fourteen numbers, ceased publication in 1936 when Caradar moved from Cornwall to Sussex. At its greatest circulation it had a subscription list of nearly a hundred: 30 in Cornwall, 29 in England, 11 in Wales, 5 in Brittany, and the rest scattered over the globe as far away as Transjordan and Australia. Three of the subscriptions went to the United States. The Newberry Library has a set and I have a set; the third I have not traced, but I believe it went to Professor Max Förster, then at Yale, from whom I first learned of the publication.

The platform of the paper is contained in the first number. (I translate for the benefit of those who still have difficulty with Cornish.)

⁶ The translation of the Song of Songs made for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte and published by him in 1859 was in Anglo-Cornish.

- 1. To act as a bond between all of the Cornish who love our language.
- 2. To furnish reading matter, in Cornish.
- 3. To raise up a new host of Cornish writers who may form and develop a new literature for Cornwall.

This first number contained also an account of Old Cornish (translated from the Llawlyfr of Henry Lewis), poems, stories, letters to the editor, and a page devoted to the society "Tyr ha Tavas (Country and Language)," Cornwall's League of Youth "the aim of which is to awaken and develop every Cornish element there is in Cornwall: games, music, crafts, and the Cornish language likewise." To further this language study the society arranged, in addition to its classes conducted in Cornwall, for fortnightly meetings to be held in London; one series was for beginners, but at the other only Cornish might be spoken. This number of the magazine ended, like all numbers of Kernow, with a page of glossary and a section of the edition of the Passion poem.

The third number (June 1934) contained the sad news of the death of Henry Jenner, the father of the movement, in his eighty-sixth year. It contained also, among other things, the first installment of Morton Nance's account of An Dasserghyans Kernewek, and the beginning of a new feature, "The Children's Corner (Cornel an Fleghes)." The fourth number, in July, announced the 1934 meeting of "Gorseth Kernow," which had been established upon the model of the Welsh Gorsedd "to demonstrate to the world that Cornwall is a Celtic country, and ready to keep alive the language and the ceremonies of the Celts." "Mordon" (Morton Nance) was chosen Barth Mur as successor to "Gwas Myhal" (Jenner), and "Tolzethan" (Dr. J. Hambley Rowe) was chosen as Barth Nessa. At the meeting of the seventh of September these officers were formally installed by the Welsh Arch-Druid; at the same time five bards were admitted by the Gorseth on the basis of their knowledge of Cornish.⁷ Not long after this Mordon announced, on behalf of the Gorseth, the rules for the 1935 competition.8 The title of "crowned bard (Barth Curunys)" was to be conferred upon the person who submitted to the judges the best Cornish "writing" (scryfa). "The contest is open to everybody, and each one may choose his own subject. If he writes verse the work must extend to fifty lines; if he writes prose it must contain a thousand words." When the esedhvos (eisteddfod) was held the judges ruled that none of the manuscripts submitted was worthy of the award, and it was withheld. Twelve new bards were admitted to the Gorseth at this time, but only one of them on the basis of an adequate knowledge of Cornish. Concerning the literary results of the contests in later years

⁷ Kernow, 5 (1934), 1. 8 Ibid., 7 (1934), 1. 9 Kernow, 12 (1935), 1.

I have discovered nothing; I do know that at the meeting in 1938 over one hundred bards were present to go through the ceremony of declaring cres (peace) and to swear fealty to Cornwall according to the ancient ritual.¹⁰

The national spirit has manifested itself in other ways. Ardent Cornishmen send each other telegrams in the national language, to the great bewilderment of the post-office officials. They write letters to each other in Cornish, and some, like Caradar, even write it to outsiders and then add a translation. They write letters to Kernow, just as an Englishman writes to The Times. Some of these letters are well written, but others are of the most elementary character. There is something pathetic in the eagerness of these people to use the old language, even though they know nothing whatever about it. When the English-Cornish dictionary first came out, one of the editors sent a copy to his seventy-seven year old mother, bedridden for fifteen years. With its help she painfully composed a two-line letter in Cornish, and she signed it "Mam, mow," She had looked up "mother" in the dictionary, and that is what she found. This dictionary gives irregular plurals, and what it means here is that the word for mother is mam, and that its plural is mammow. The St. Austell choir has given programs of Cornish songs on the radio, ending with Vro Goth agan Tasow, the Cornish version of Hen Wlad fv Nhadau, the Welsh national song, and with their signature tune (deweth-don) 'Verow Trelawny bras? (Shall Trelawny die?). The program of one of these concerts was sent to His Majesty the King, who returned a gracious note of thanks through his private secretary.12

These same patriots make speeches in Cornish whenever their audience may be presumed to be able to understand them, and sometimes, I suspect, when it may not. Some take as their "guiding light (agan golow-lewyas)" the slogan of Henry Jenner, "Bedheugh bynytha Kernewek (Always pray in Cornish)." In August 1933, in the Church of Towednack, was held the first religious service wholly in Cornish since Parson Robinson pronounced his last benediction in that language in 1678. The Arch-Druid of Wales, the Grand Bard and the Deputy Grand Bard of Cornwall, and bards from Brittany were present. The service had been translated by Mordon, and at the end the congregation had no difficulty in joining in singing "Ty Howl a'm Enef (Thou Sun of my Soul)." This service was such a success that it was proposed that it be repeated annually, in the week of the Gorseth. Accordingly such a service was celebrated in the same church on September 9, 1934 by the Rev. L. V. Jolly, the "pronter" of the parish, assisted by several others; the sermon

Celtic Digest, 1, 4 (1938), 20.
 Kernow, 4 (1934), 2.
 Ibid., 11 (1935), 10.
 Kernow, 11 (1935), 1.
 Caradar's first grammar, Redyans 10.

was preached in Cornish by Edwin Chirgwin ("Map Melvn").15 The third annual celebration was held on September 1, 1935, in the parish church of Lyskerret. 16 The service was preceded by a parade of the mayors of the Cornish towns, the Barth Mur and the other bards of the Gorseth, and the members of Tyr ha Tavas and Cowethasow Kernow Goth. From a pole on the steeple flew their palores banner, the black Cornish chough on a field of woad blue. Canon Mills, the Pronter, officiated, assisted by his two curates: Dr. Hunkin, the new Bishop of Truro, a thoroughgoing Cornishman, read the special collect and pronounced the benediction. For the occasion a new collect had been written, in Cornish like all the rest of the service, asking for a blessing upon all Cornishmen at home and abroad, on land and sea, and praying that all they might do might be to the profit of Cornwall and of the world. The sermon was again by Mr. Chirgwin, who took as his text the seventh verse of the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy: "Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations: ask thy father and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee." The sermon, which was later printed in Kernow, 17 is an exhortation to his hearers to remember the traditions of their ancestors. Of subsequent services I know nothing. Kernow ceased publication, the Times Index ignores the movement, and the local papers are not accessible to me. But I see no reason to doubt that they were continued, at least until the war became serious.

One of the avowed aims of Kernow was to create a new Cornish literature. In this it was only partially successful. Much of what it printed, particularly the so-called whethlow ber, was of a very elementary character. Upon a somewhat higher level are Caradar's translations of the Welsh Pwyll Prince of Dyfed and Branwen Daughter of Lear, Hal Wyn's Recollections of Russia, and Talek's account of A Cornishman in Cataluña. Some of the verse aims only to catch the popular fancy, as does Caradar's satirical poem (can ges) on The Patriot (An Gwlascarer) which begins

Ny-allaf-vy kewsel Kernewek, Ny-allaf y scryfa na-whath, Re gales yu tavas mar uthek, Prydery anodho a-m-lath! I cannot speak Cornish,
I cannot write it either,
Such a terrible language is too hard,
It kills me to think about it!

But other verse aspires to be real poetry, and some of it is fairly successful. Among the poets Edwin Chirgwin ("Map Melen") deserves first place, in regard to both the quantity and the quality of his production.

¹⁵ Kernow, 5 (1934), 2.

¹⁶ Ibid., 11 (1935), 8; 12 (1935), 11.

¹⁷ Kernow, 12 (1935), 2-3.

¹⁸ Ibid., 2 (1934), 4.

Some of his poems like "The Deserted Engine-House (An Jynjy gesys dhe goll)" and "The Old Mill (An Velin Goth)" show considerable metrical ability, but the thought seems to me flat and trite. As examples of his best work I have chosen two poems, one in blank verse and the other in sonnet form.

DHE HANTERNOS

V-clewys-vy tros Ancow cannas Dew Nyhewer, pan ve cres war oll an bys. Y-teth v dros mar bryva war v forth! Mar pven-vv vn cusk, nv-alsen-vv A son an myghtern-na dhe glewes man. Rvp tan ow-merwel my o gyllys pell A-hes an forth a-hembronk dhe'n tyr whek, Pow-hunros, lun a govvon a gen deth. Adref ow hadar ef o vn v saf Kens es bos godhvos genef-vy yn-whyr Y vos vn agan chy po ogas dy: Mes oll an avr o gyllys ven hep nam Ha hem a-wruk ow gelwel mes a gusk. Yth-esa whath kerensa vn v fas. Hag orth-v-vvras genef nvns-o own. Yndella orto my a-gowsas harth: "Py vynnes-ta v'n ur-ma, Spyrys du?" Y-wharthas, hag yn-meth ef: "Ny-whylaf Denvyth saw unsel sul a-vo fest gwyw. Rag henna, byth na-borth own man. Yma An gwella pur-dha yn ow gwel ha gwyth!" Yth-eth, hag ot! kens hy bos deth O gyllys pell an gwella yn ow chy.

AT MIDNIGHT

I heard the foot of Death, God's messenger,
Last night, when there was peace on all the world.
His foot came stealthily along the road.
Had I been sleeping I could not have heard
Aught of the sound made by this sovereign.
Beside the dying fire, I was far away
Along the road that leads to the pleasant land,
Dreamland, filled with memories of another day.
Behind my chair he stood before I knew
That he was in our house, or near the house.
But all the air had suddenly grown chill

And from my sleep he called me; in his face
There still was friendship. As I looked on him
I had no fear. To him I boldly said
"What is it that you want now, somber spirit?"
He laughed as he replied, "I only want
The person here who is the worthiest.
Therefore have thou no fear. The wholly good
Is in my sight and keeping." Then he went
Away, and ere day dawned, behold the best
Within my house had vanished far away.

GORTHEWER

Ny-allaf-vy leverel oll a-dheth
Ajy ow holon omma yn ow saf,
Pan es ow-merwel deth pur-snell yn Haf
Ha gallas war y forth an howl dh'y veth.
A-ugh an bron y-teth yn-hell an lor
Ha powes whek war oll an bys a-goth,
Yma y'n ebron haneth steren-goth
Ha golow-lor a-gram a-hes an dor.
Hem yu an ur hag oll a-whylla cres,
A-ugh ow fen comolow munys a
Rag tewlel war ken tyryow aga skes
Ha codha war an gwelyow yn glaw da.
Mes ot! gluth cuf gorthewer pals a-re,
Ha gans gonesek coth y-whylaf tre.

EVENING

I cannot tell of all the things that came
Into my heart as I was standing here
While the summer day
Was quickly dying; and the sun had gone
Upon the road that leads him to his grave.
Above the hill slowly the moon goes up,
And sweet repose falls upon all the earth.
In the sky tonight there is a shooting-star,
And all along the ground the moonlight creeps.
This is the hour when all things seek for peace.
Over my head the small clouds move along
To cast their shadows upon other lands
And fall in good rain on the open fields.
Evening the kindly dew profuse lets fall,
And with the farmer old I seek a home.

There is nothing distinctively Cornish about these poems; there

hardly could be, since there is no native tradition for poems of this kind.²² The verse, particularly the blank verse, reminds me a little of Welsh attempts to write in that form, but the resemblance may be due merely to common weaknesses when compared with English. There may be something in the rhythm of Celtic speech which affects the character of English metres written in it. These poems, the best that I have found, show considerable promise, but they also show that Cornish poetry has not yet arrived.

What the present state of An Dasserghyans is I cannot say. In March 1936 Caradar moved from Cornwall to Sussex, and Kernow, having completed its second year, ceased publication. Caradar hoped to revive it in October, as a regularly printed paper, if he could get enough additional support to justify the increased cost; evidently he could not, for it did not re-appear. This was doubtless a heavy loss, but I cannot believe that so active and enthusiastic a movement would be stopped by that, or even be stopped permanently by the war. When peace comes perhaps we can pick up the broken threads again.²³

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²² Jenner has one poem in the form of the Welsh englyn, but with incomplete cynghanedd (Report of the Celtic Congress of 1917, p. 114), and Caradar has one in a form resembling the old warrior's triplet (Kernow, 3, 1). Otherwise Cornish poetry, so far as I am familiar with it, is based upon English models.

²³ This paper was read before the Celtic Group of the Modern Language Association at its meeting in December, 1944.